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either of the nearest relatives or of the clan to which the lodge belonged. They believed that the lodge had a spirit which would have sent bad luck to one taking possession illegally.

The females of the lodge owned in common the domestic goods consisting of bedding, pots, household and gardening tools, the dogs, gardens, the wooden mortar and pestle, and the mares and colts. Clothing and personal effects were held individually. The men owned their weapons used in warfare and hunting as well as their own clothing and pipes. Men also owned the stallions and geldings. Sacred tribal bundles were held collectively by the man and his wives.

Lodges were built with little ceremony; the only rites were performed at the cutting of the notches for the four center posts when an old woman having the right to cut the posts was called in to sing one song and pray for the family's success. She received one robe for her services. It was the duty of the clan to assist in the erection of a member's lodge. Since these lodges were large, a considerable amount of work was entailed in erecting one and covering it with poles, willows, grass, and earth.[3] As a rule, the clan prepared a feast and invited the opposite moiety to assist, in which case the clans assisted according to the seating arrangement of the men in the Okipa or in council.

Mandan informants state that in earlier times each household had one or more game pits. These pits were dug by all the members of the household and were owned collectively. While the men would bring the poles for the cover and kill the game caught in them, the women frequently did most of the work of excavating and removing earth from the area of the pit. In recent times many households had fishtraps which are believed to have been used since introduced by Black Wolf. Fish bones, particularly catfish bones, are very abundant in the Heart River villages. The ceremonies associated with the trapping of fish, particularly the catfish, were performed by the older men, but the women assisted in weaving the walls for the trap and in sorting and cleaning the fish.

There was considerable variability in the status of household

3. For a report of the amount of materials used in the completion of an earth lodge see George F. Will, "The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1930).

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Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eyes had a main one.[22] Small Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull. He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the snake.[23]

With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son.

The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that relationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the relationship of *pta'wadato'dE*, a special kinship term for the *mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing* back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father.

Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook

22. He means the principal bundle.
23. See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

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Village, but he sold to his son after living one generation with the Hidatsa. He inherited the eagle-trapping sites of his mother's brother, but his son, Ben Benson, did not inherit his father's trapping lodges, since they were of different clans. Trapping territory and lodges continued to be clan-inherited and were not affected by this change to father-son inheritance of bundles.

Residence also was a factor in determining Mandan bundle transfers. When marriage was arranged on the initiative of the girl's parents, who selected the husband, the girl and her husband lived with her parents. As soon as it was evident that the marriage would become permanent, the girl's parents undertook what was known as "building up the son-in-law's reputation." First they would secure a white buffalo robe, which they presented to their son-in-law, who in turn would offer it to his own father's bundle.

If the young man came to regard the parents-in-law highly, he would, when successful in warfare, present his mother-in-law with a scalp, after which he could speak to her at will. Small Ankles lived in the same lodge with his wife and her parents, and he received his eagle-trapping rights from his father-in-law, Big Cloud, who also sold to his younger brother, Wolf Eyes. Wolf Chief, son of Small Ankles, was eligible to buy from his father. He also was invited to own his father-in-law's (Chief, a Mandan) eagle-trapping rights. This was an instance where a man (Hidatsa) was eligible to purchase his father's rights but through marriage to a Mandan and living in his parents-in-law's lodge could, according to Mandan custom, have inherited his father-in-law's bundle and rights.

Wolf Chief gave an account of a bundle transfer as told to him by his father, Small Ankles. The account illustrates quite definitely a considerable interchange of elements between the Mandan and Hidatsa, resulting in an enriched ceremonial life for both groups. The Hidatsa think of Small Ankles' rites as Hidatsa, but this account will show that the chief body of lore connected with the bundle was drawn from the Mandan.

WOLF CHIEF'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE TRANSFER

I do not own the trapping rights, and by custom I should not tell; but, since I have changed my ways, I will. My father, Small Ankles, did not get the rights from his father but from Big Cloud, his father-in-law. Before Big

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eagle, and a fiber snare over the entrance. The sun, also identified with the speckled eagle, was represented by a chokecherry branch and a fiber snare tied over the front standard above the altar.

Then followed the assignment of places for the duration of the trapping season and the selection of officers. Until the assignment of places was made, the leader gave no indication of the selections he contemplated making. The leader's place was at the head of the lodge on the right side. For the place next to him he would select an assistant, whenever possible one who also had eagle-trapping rights. At the end of the row next to the door he would place the waiter. For the left side opposite the leader he would select the "Chief of the Hunters" or "Crack Shot." Next he would select an assistant to the Chief of the Hunters. In mythological times these last two positions were occupied by a single officer, Bear Cub, until Two Men stole his earthen pot. When they found that they could not escape from the Cub, they agreed to do the hunting for the bears, as they were arrows in spirit. When the party was quite large, a second waiter was selected to sit at the end of the line.

The assignment of "bird sticks" varied with different leaders. Bear on the Flat used twelve bird sticks cut from chokecherry branches, to which he tied pieces of calico. These sticks were stuck into the ground in a row in front of the buffalo skull. They represented the twelve tail feathers of the eagle and also the birds that belong in the eagle family according to native belief. Iron Eyes and Ben Benson placed one bird stick on the altar for each member of the party. Each stick was decorated with a piece of flint,[29] a strip of rabbit skin, and some white sage. Old Bear, a Mandan, placed four bird sticks at the altar for each trapper, representing four types of eagles—the bald-headed, speckled, four stripes (on tail feathers), and calumet (white tail feathers with black tips) varieties. Small Ankles gave each of his trappers two bird sticks decorated with calico. One was offered to the calumet and the other to all the other eagles.

After the lodge was entered, assignment of pits was in order. When returning to habitual trapping grounds, it was rarely necessary to dig new pits. The right to dig new pits was by a sepa-

29. See chap. ix for origin of flint knives.

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223 425 423 rate purchase, and all leaders did not possess this. Purchasers received a short ash digging stick for laying out the corners of the pit and the right to sing the Song to the Pit. Lacking this right, it was necessary for a leader to select an established camp of a clan brother or a site which he had formerly purchased or borrowed, as he could not lay claim to a new site without the right to dig new pits. It was customary for a leader to return to the same site year after year, except that he could not lead eagle-trapping expeditions and put out a fish trap the same year.

When new pits were to be dug, the trapper made his own selection of the site and then called for the leader to mark the corners, which was done with the small ash stick while singing the Song to the Pit at each of the corners. He received payment for this service.

223 In order to avoid disputes when selecting pits, the leader would name two men to select their pits until each trapper had a pit. It was believed that the birds would not come down if disputes occurred. The first day in camp was usually spent in preparing the trapping lodge and assigning the pits. In the evening when the lodge was completed and the altar had been set up, the leader went out and called the birds, told them that the lodge was ready, informed the trappers of the rules, and sang the trapping songs.

796 223 When the writer was on one of these trapping expeditions in 1932, Bear on the Flat gave us the following instructions in this order. Mark Mato served as interpreter. The main points stressed by Bear on the Flat were of necessity recorded in brief outline.

BEAR ON THE FLAT'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR EAGLE-TRAPPING

When the four-post eagle-trapping lodges are put up, the eagle-trapping owner should come out to that site each fall. When a person comes to a region for one season and knows that he will not return to the same site next season, he puts up the simple tepee-shaped lodge without the four central posts.

When lodges were used formerly, twelve to twenty trappers went out; the lodges were approximately twenty-five feet in diameter, and the snake poles were relatively larger. No one was allowed to touch the snake poles. If someone did, Old Black Bear punched him severely with one of the bird poles used as a poker for the fire. Children were pinched severely by anyone near at hand.

It is customary to wipe the hands on the snake poles after eating, as the snakes' share of the meal. Men sleep at night with their heads on the snake